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and east of the Rioni) are Georgian, and Imeret'ian and other west Georgian dialects are spoken there. To the Georgian area belongs also Adjaristan (Adžaristan), the valley of the Acharis-Tskhali, which borders in the south and west on Azerbaidjanian and Osman speaking peoples, and in the west, with the Laz people. The Adjarians (Acharians), like their neighbors, are of Mohammedan faith.

T'ushuri, Khevsuri and P'shaveli

The northeasternmost Georgians, living in the alpine parts of the central Caucasus, are an interesting and distinct people. Although they speak East-K'art'velian dialects and are Orthodox Christians, the Georgians do not consider them as the same nation. The reasons are not only their inaccessibility and age-long seclusion and independence, but also customs and manners which in this way have been preserved from by-gone times. These remote people make up three tribes: the T'ushuri, Khevsuri, and P'shaveli, who live in the high valleys of the source rivers of the Andi-Koisu, Aragvi, and Argun, and of the Iora. In sharp contrast to other Caucasian peoples, blue eyes are not rare with them. Shields, spears, straight long swords, iron or steel helmets, coats of mail and armor were worn by many of them (usually the Khevsurs) as late as the nineteenth century, and in a few instances, even after the Russian Revolution.

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§ 2. PHYSICAL ANTHROPOLOGY

The so-called "Caucasoid Race" in reference to the "Europeans" is a complete misnomer. A *common* European race has never existed; nor have the "Europeans" come from the Caucasus or immediate vicinity, so that the use of the term is quite unjustifiable.

We are interested, however, not in these pseudo-Caucasians but in the true Caucasians, the natives of Caucasia who speak languages belonging to no linguistic group outside of the Caucasus. Do *they* (or at least some of them) form a distinct race?

Negatively stated, the Caucasians are not, as was formerly supposed, survivors of numberless different stocks and races, who, one after the other, found refuge in the Caucasus Mountains. The linguistic and cultural complexity of Caucasia has indeed misled the earlier anthropologists to such untenable conjectures, but today we know that this assumption is false, and after having made sufficient reservations, we may even speak of a "Caucasian Race". But still much research is necessary before a final word can be said regarding the racial affinity and components of the individual tribes of the Caucasus.

According to Djavachišvili, the typical representatives of the "Caucasian Race" are the Georgians, Lesghians, Cherkess and Armenians. He assigns the following marks as being characteristic of the Caucasian Race: 47% to 67% have dark hair; 53% to 81% dark eyes; 58% to 72% brunette type; head-length *moderate, 181 mm. to 187 mm.; head-breadth large, 155 mm. to* 159 mm.; 80% to 96% are definitely roundheaded with an 83.44 to 86.55 index; the height of the skull varies from 128 mm. to 133 mm., and in relation to its width 82.58 to 84.89, in relation to its length 69.66 to 73.05. The face is of moderate height, breadth 143 mm. to 145 mm., length 178 mm. to 184 mm. with an index of 79.44 to 81.73 (36% to 54% being broad faced and 46% to 62% moderately so). The distance between inner eye-corners varies from 30 mm. to 32 mm. Differences are especially noticeable in stature, quantity of hair, and nasal index, depending on the ethnic group to which the subject belongs. Djavachišvili, in his excellent compilation of anthropometric data of the Caucasians, divides the race into five main groups and 14 types. The mean stature of the Georgian and Cherkess groups is 165 cm., except for the Kabardians, who are 2 cm. taller. The mean stature of the Lesghian group varies from 164 cm. to 168 cm., varying according to tribe. (The mean stature of the Chechens is 168 cm.[4]) The Georgian group shows the scantiest hair; contrariwise the Armenian group has a very thick growth of hair. The nasal index varies too: Georgian group 58.0; Armenian group 62.5; Cherkess group 64.05; Lesghian group 65.2. The nasal length of the Lesghians is 54; of the Cherkess 57; of the Georgian 60; of the Armenian group 61. The nose is leptorrhine according to the following percentage: 100% of the Gurians and Imeréti; 97% of the

[4] Carleton S. Coon, *The Races of Europe* (1945), p. 633.

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141 Karthlians and Kakhetians; 91% of the Abkhaz; 79% of the Cherkess; 71%
142 of the Lesghians; 78% of the Armenians; 70% of the Ingushi.[5] The Caucasians are generally dark-mixed in pigmentation.[6]

TABLE 1

144 **Groups and Types of the Caucasian Race according to Djavachišvili**

Groups	Types	Peoples and Tribes
Cherkess	Western Type Eastern Type Mixed	Abkhaz, Abasians, Abadzekhs Adighé, Kabardians Karachai*
Lesghian	Western Type Eastern Type	Avars, Archi, Kaitago-Tabassaranians** Kurins, Dargwa
Georgian	Western Type Eastern Type Central Type	Gurians, Imeréti, Samegrelo Karthlians, Kakhetians Radhs, Mthiuleti
Armenian	*Armenian Type* Aissorian	*Armenians* Aissores***
Metamorphic	Georgian-Armenian Lesghian Lesghian-Armenian Georgian-Cherkess	Georgian Jews, Udins Kumyks, Lesghian Tartars Lesghian and Shemakhic Jews Chechens and Ossetes

* The Karachai and the Balkars are Turks. The Mountain Tartars may well be descendents of the Khazars or Volga-Bulgars. R. Bleichsteiner, "Die Völker des Kaukasus," *Asien-Berichte*, V (1944), No. 22, p. 8. Marr considered the Balkars and Karachai as turkized Caucasians, or, as he called them, "Japhetido-Turks".

** Racially the Karakaitags may be turkized Mongols. R. Bleichsteiner, *op. cit.*, p. 12.

*** Aissores are Semites.
This table is based on Djawachischwili, *op. cit.*, p. 82.

141 Practically all Caucasians are brachycephalic or sub-brachycephalic. According to Danilov's measurements, of 873 individuals belonging to 15 different tribes, only 11% were dolichocephals, 16% mesocephals and 73% brachycephals.[7] The following table, based on the most reliable and recent data, shows the indices of the Caucasians and neighbouring non-Caucasians.

[5] A. Djawachischwili, "Die Rassenzusammensetzung der Kaukasusvölker," *Archiv für Anthropologie*, New Series, XX (1925), pp. 79—88.

[6] C. S. Coon, *l. c.*

[7] Cited by Henry Field, *Contribution to the Anthropology of Iran*, p. 107.

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Chapter IV

Freedom of Choice

000 After we have shown which individuals are regarded as possible mates, we arrive at the second fundamental question: Who has the decisive word in selecting a definite mate from among the many possible ones? We shall have to answer such questions as: "Has the couple the decisive word?" "Has the young man more to say about his partner than the girl about hers?"

§ 1. THE RIGHT TO CHOOSE A MATE IN THEORY AND PRACTICE

584 [581] The NORTHWEST CAUCASIANS, the Abkhaz and the Cherkess, regard marriage as a family affair. It is not a contract between two *individuals* but between two *families*, joint-families or sibs. The male head of the household has the right to marry off his child to whomsoever he wishes.[1] He has the sole *right*; whether he *uses* that right or not is an entirely different matter.

When speaking about the actual practice we must make the necessary temporal and local distinctions. Before the Revolution the Kabardians, contrary to Hahn's superficial observations,[2] paid little attention to the wishes of their daughters, whereas the Shapsugs, Abadzekhs, and Bzhedukhs generally considered the girl's preferences and even tried to act accordingly. After the Revolution (1920), the Soviet régime refused to recognize any marriage unless it had been entered upon freely. To a large extent this legislation had the desired results, but not entirely, for compulsory marriages still occur today.[3]

Since there is less family interest in the girl than in the boy (the girl is married off into a *strange* family), it is not surprising that more consideration is given the future groom than the bride. But we do not wish to say that the [582] preferences of the male children are always regarded more than those of the female. Infant betrothal[4] has always been possible in Circassia and therefore there is no question of male children having a *right* to choose their mates. *De jure* both sexes are on the same level; *de facto* the wishes of the boys are generally complied with more than those of the girls.[5]

142 583 One can hardly pick up a book on the Cherkess without coming across a paragraph or two about the unusual beauty of their women. Some authors go

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[1] V. V. Vasil'kov, "Očerk byta temirgoevcev," SMOMPK, XXIX (1901), No. 1, p. 99.

[2] C. Hahn, *Kaukasische Reisen und Studien*, p. 39. The questioning of the bride was a mere formality.

[3] Ladyženskij, FT, p. 197. Castagné, *op. cit.*, 1929, No. 2, p. 259.

[4] N. Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, i, p. 139.

[5] Ladyženskij, *l. c.*

p. 76 1 [sic -- Analyst]

so far as to give them the title of the "most beautiful women in the world." Whether they, or perhaps the Mingrelians or others, deserve this title does not concern us here. What does matter is the conviction of the Turks and Persians that Cherkess women are beautiful. It is said that the eunuchs of Persia used to lay down their lives for them, and today, it is a known fact, that the Turks are still willing to pay immense sums to have these singularly beautiful women in their harems. No wonder then, that bride-markets were not unusual in Circassia in the nineteenth century. And even today they are still operating, using of course the black-market technique. What we wish to emphasize is that the girl sold on the bride-market is not sold *against* her will. She is not sold as a slave, even though slave-traders are the middlemen of the actual purchasers. She is not sold against her will; no, she is proud to be sold, proud to see a man give up all he has just to win her. If it is not pride that makes her so eager to be sold on the bride-market, then it is ambition. These girls have dreams just as our girls do, though of a somewhat different type. In Turkey they will be sold to a *rich* man; they will be given a *comfortable* lodging, an excellent *education*. Dreams these are indeed, great dreams that can be realized only outside of their own homeland and only in a Turkish harem, only on the bride-market![6]

The NORTHEASTERN CAUCASIANS. The Chechen girls according to their own native *adats* have very little to say about their future husbands. They must wait till their father (or if he is dead, their eldest brother) marries them off to whomever *he* thinks is best,[7] and, primarily, of course, best for the family, for marriage is a family affair. Child-engagements[8] are again a proof that not even the male-children enjoy the *right* to choose their mates.

decision of the Ingushi, no marriage was to be considered valid unless the bride

§ 118 of the "*Adats* of the Ingush Province in the 1860's" calls for special attention. It reads: "Since the end of 1862, according to an unanimous decision of the Ingushi, no marriage was to be considered valid unless the bride had freely consented."[9] The *adat* collection then goes on to give the motive for the decision (§ 156): "Till very recently (1862) a woman was regarded as a slave: she enjoyed no human rights. Turning a deaf ear to her plea and protests, disregarding her sobs and tears, her family would sell her off like a ram, throw her on a cart, and deliver her to her husband."[10] Such a miserable bride, the collection tells us, would in most cases run away from her purchaser. But where could she flee except to her own family — unfortunately the same persons who sold her into "slavery"? Her family, however, had to return the fugitive to her lawful husband, for the contract had to be observed to prevent bloodshed. She would then run away again, and even a third time, making life

[6] Cf. Esad-Bey, *op. cit.*, pp. 202—207. Longworth, *A Year among the Circassians*, I, p. 279.

[7] Cf. The general *adats* for the Black Sea Line, Kuban and Terek Territories, Leontovič, II, p. 251, § 148. *Adats* of 1843 for all Chechens, Leontovič, II, p. 112, § 8. *Adats* of 1864 for the Chechen tribes of Salati, Aukh, and Ichkeria, Leontovič, II, p. 144. Adats of the 1860's for the Ingush Province, Leontovič, II, p. 169. A. P. Berže, Čečnja i Čečency, p. 97.

[8] Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, i, pp. 427.

[9] Leontovič, II, p. 169, § 118.

[10] "*Adats* of the Natives of the Ingush Province in the 1860's," Leontovič, II, p. 174, § 156.

[Sic -- Analysis]